1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

121 128 however, no scruples on this score, partly because I wished my readers thoroughly to grasp the nature of the material on which my account is based, but still more, because details which may seem insignificant or trivial are often of great importance in the comparative study of custom and belief.

I have not attempted such a comparative study of Toda institutions. It was often very tempting to suggest resemblances with the practices of other peoples of the present or the past, but the result would have been to swell the book to unwieldy dimensions, and perhaps to have obscured the description of the life of the people. In giving parallels for Toda custom I have therefore limited myself to examples from other parts of India, and even here I have only dealt with a few resemblances which illustrate certain suggestions made in the final chapter on the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

122 In conclusion, I am very glad to express my gratitude for help received from many sources. The researches on which the book is based were undertaken in consequence of the award to myself of the income of the Gunning Fund of the Royal Society for the years 1901–2, and my work was also assisted by a grant from the British Association. In India I received every assistance from those whose official positions gave them the means of helping me, and my thanks are especially due to Mr. Edgar Thurston, whose kind interest and assistance I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I owe much to the care and attention with which my two interpreters, P. Samuel and Albert Urrilla, performed their duties, and I am greatly indebted to the managers of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society at Ootacamund for the services of the former, and to Mr. C. M. Mullaly and Mr. Hadfield for giving the latter leave from his forest duties in order that he might help me.

128 Of friends in England I am especially indebted to Dr. C. S. Myers, who kindly read nearly the whole of the book in proof; to Syed Ali Bilgrami for information on various points connected with Indian custom; to Don M. da Zilva

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

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[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, pp. 103-12, 1937); in that paper, ṭ, ḍ, ṛ should be used for ṭ, ḍ, ṛ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS*

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(Communicated by Franklin Edgerton)

ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling[1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Down in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

BY

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901–2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms.

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are:

W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*; London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77. 543–560.

Id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57. 377–389.

(*Continued on next page*)

[p. 101]

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

841 778 234 [462] The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [716] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[1] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[2] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[3] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to EGO.[4] An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, oɲɑ: in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɑ: in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ɵɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɑ: in address. En-ɵɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" num-ɵɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," an-ɵɯɾ-fed (or an-dən-ɵɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ɵɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or ɑðɑm-ɵɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xu ɪx (= ku ɪx) a female.[5]

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, The Todas (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[2] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use ɪ, ɛ for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ɟ for post-dental affricates and ĉ, ĵ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel.
Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[3] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[4] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom EGO would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60

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was able to park my caravan in the compound of the factory, and from there to conduct my work in the surrounding villages, both in the Walluvanad taluk and in north Cochin. I am greatly indebted to the then Collector of Malabar, Sri Prasad, for the assistance rendered to me during my stay in Kerala, for without this help it would not have been possible to gather so much information in so short a time.

Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, my fellow-student at the London School of Economics where we both attended the seminars and lectures of the late Professor Br. Malinowski. Through Dr. Aiyappan's never failing advice and active interest I saved considerable time and effort in going straight to that part of Kerala most propitious for the study of polyandry.

TO 122 ●

While working in the Nilgiris, both before and after World War II, it would have been good to have been able to speak Toda. It would have enabled me to gather information direct, which would have been an incomparable asset during my long period of research in that area. From the wider point of view, it did not seem worth while, however, to go to the trouble of learning Toda. It is spoken by only a very small number of individuals who, being themselves illiterate, have no literature at all. It is besides a Dravidian tongue, and therefore difficult for Europeans to master quickly. I felt that I would prefer to concentrate later on acquiring Tibetan, something which would be of far wider use to me in very many fields other than the relatively narrow study of polyandry.

TO 115 [129]

I therefore turned down the idea of learning the language and, because of this, was obliged to work through an interpreter. In the choice of the latter, I was exceptionally fortunate. Very early, during the first months of my stay in the Nilgiris, in the summer of 1939, thanks to the help of Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission, I got to know Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, a Christian Toda convert, who had previously served Dr. M. B. Emeneau, of the University of California at Berkeley, in a like capacity, for three years, and who was to prove just as excellent an assistant to me as he had been to this predecessor of mine among the Todas.

Kanvarsathi, although belonging to the little colony of Christian Todas described by Emeneau (*The Christian Todas*, see Bibliography), was far from having developed an aversion for his heathen fellows. What was more, he was liked and accepted to a remarkable degree by the latter, a most happy state of affairs when it came to making use of